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THE GEORGE DANA BOARDMAN LECTURESHIP
IN CHRISTIAN ETHICS

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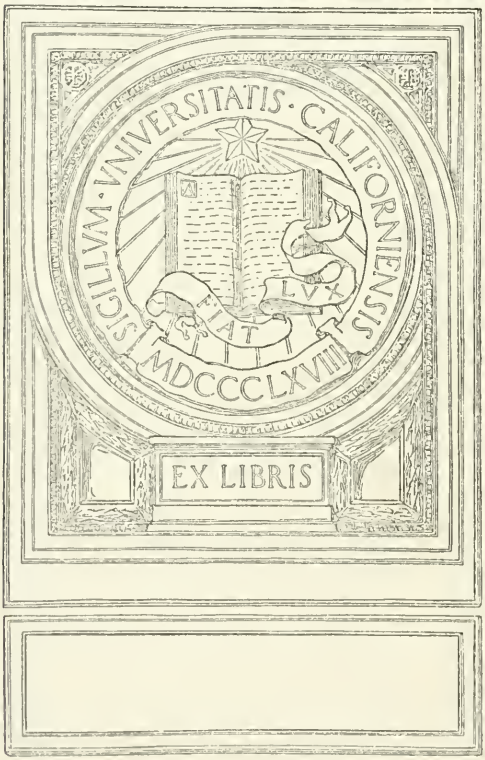
WORLD PEACE AND THE COLLEGE MAN

BY

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN, LL.D.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



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The George Dana Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics

(Founded Anno Domini 1899)

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1916

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in Christian Ethics

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World Peace and the College Man

Delivered before
The University of Pennsylvania
November Nineteenth, 1915

By

DR. DAVID STARR JORDAN, LL.D.
Chancellor of Leland Stanford, Jr., University

"Litteræ Sine Moribus Vanæ"

PHILADELPHIA
PUBLISHED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
1916

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THE FOUNDATION.

ON June 6, 1899, the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania accepted from the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D., and his wife a Deed of Gift, providing for a foundation to be known as "The Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics," the income of the fund to be expended solely for the purposes of the Trust. Dr. Boardman served the University for twenty-three years as Trustee, for a time as Chaplain, and often as Ethical Lecturer. After provision for refunding out of the said income, any depreciation which might occur in the capital sum, the remainder is to be expended in procuring the delivery in each year at the University of Pennsylvania, of one or more lectures on Christian Ethics from the standpoint of the life, example and teachings of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the publication in book form, of the said lecture or lectures within four months of the completion of their delivery. The volume in

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which they are printed shall always have in its forefront a printed statement of the history, the outline and terms of the Foundation.

On July 6, 1899, a Standing Committee on "The Boardman Lectureship in Christian Ethics" was constituted, to which shall be committed the nominations of the lecturers and the publications of the lectures in accordance with the Trust.

On February 6, 1900, on recommendation of this committee, the Rev. George Dana Boardman, D.D., LL.D., was appointed Lecturer on Christian Ethics on the Boardman Foundation for the current year. Among those who have followed are Dr. Lyman Abbott and Dr. Hamilton Wright Mabie, of New York City, and Rev. Oliver Huckel, '87 C., of Baltimore. The late Mrs. Boardman always co-operated with the Provost in selecting the lecturer. She had a broad idea of the work, and frequently expressed her wish that when the foundation endowment was complete, the most eminent men in any branch of science or learning might be invited from anywhere in the world to deliver this series of lectures at the University of Pennsylvania.

THE OUTLINE.

I. The Purpose.

FIRST, the purpose is not to trace the history of the various ethical theories; this is already admirably done in our own noble University. Nor is it the purpose to teach theology, whether natural, Biblical, or ecclesiastical. But the purpose of this Lectureship is to teach *Christian Ethics;* that is to say, the practical application of the precepts and behavior of Jesus Christ to everyday life.

And this is the greatest of the sciences. It is a great thing to know astronomy; for it is the science of mighty orbs, stupendous distances, majestic adjustments in time and space. It is a great thing to know biology; for it is the science of living organisms—of starting, growth, health, movements, life itself. It is a great thing to know law; for it is the science of legislation, government, equity, civilization. It is a great thing to

know philosophy; for it is the science of men and things. It is a great thing to know theology; for it is the science of God. But what avails it to know everything in space from atom to star, everything in time from protoplasm to Deity, if we do not know how to manage ourselves amid the complex, delicate, ever-varying duties of daily life? 'What will it profit a man if he gain the whole world—the world geographical, commercial, political, intellectual, and after all lose his own soul?' What can a University give in exchange for a Christlike character? 'Thus it is that ethics is the science of sciences.' Very significant is the motto of our own noble University—"*Literæ Sine Moribus Vanæ.*"

And Jesus of Nazareth is the supreme ethical authority. When we come to receive from him our final awards, he will not ask, "What was your theory of atoms? What did you think about evolution? What was your doctrine of atonement? What was your mode of baptism?" But he will ask, "What did you do with Me? Did you accept Me as your personal standard of character? Were you a practical everyday

Christian?" Christian Ethics will be the judgment test.

In sum, the purpose of this Lectureship in Christian Ethics is to build up human character after the model of Jesus Christ's.

II. Range of the Lectureship.

Secondly, the Range of the Lectureship. This range should be as wide as human society itself. The following is offered in way of general outline and suggestive hints, each hint being of course but a specific or technical illustration growing out of some vaster underlying Principle.

1. *Man's Heart-Nature.*—And, first, man's religious nature. For example: *Christian* (not merely ethical) precepts concerning man's capacity for religion; worship; communion; divineness; immortality; duty of religious observances; the Beatitudes; in brief, Manliness in Christ.

2. *Man's Mind-Nature.*—Secondly, man's intellect-nature. For example: *Christian* precepts concerning reason; imagination; invention; æsthetics; language, whether spoken, written, sung, builded, painted, chiseled, acted, etc.

3. *Man's Society - Nature.* — Thirdly, man's society-nature. For example:

(*a*) *Christian* precepts concerning the personal life; for instance: conscientiousness, honesty, truthfulness, charity, chastity, courage, independence, chivalry, patience, altruism, etc.

(*b*) *Christian* precepts concerning the family life; for instance: marriage; divorce; duties of husbands, wives, parents, children, kindred, servants; place of woman, etc.

(*c*) *Christian* precepts concerning the business life; for instance: rights of labor; rights of capital; right of pecuniary independence; living within means; life insurance; keeping morally accurate accounts; endorsing; borrowing; prompt liquidation; sacredness of trust-funds, personal and corporate; individual moral responsibility of directors and officers; trust-combinations; strikes; boycotting; limits of speculation; profiting by ambiguities; single tax; nationalization of property, etc.

(*d*) *Christian* precepts concerning the civic life; for instance: responsibilities of citizenship; elective franchise; obligations of office; class-

legislation; legal oaths; custom-house conscience; sumptuary laws; public institutions, whether educational, ameliorative, or reformatory; function of money; standard of money; public credit; civic reforms; caucuses, etc.

(*e*) *Christian* precepts concerning the international life; for instance: treaties; diplomacy; war; arbitration; disarmament; tariff; reciprocity; mankind, etc.

(*f*) *Christian* precepts concerning the ecclesiastical life; for instance: sectarianism; comity in mission fields; co-operation; unification of Christendom, etc.

(*g*) *Christian* precepts concerning the academic life; for instance: literary and scientific ideals; professional standards of morality; function of the press; copyrights; obligations of scholarship, etc.

In sum, *Christian* precepts concerning the tremendous problems of sociology, present and future.

Not that all the lecturers must agree at every point; often there are genuine cases of conscience, or reasonable doubt, in which a good deal can be

justly said on both sides. The supreme point is this: Whatever the topic may be, the lecturer must discuss it conscientiously, in light of Christ's own teachings and character; and so awaken the consciences of his listeners, making their moral sense more acute.

4. *Man's Body-Nature.*—Fourthly, man's body-nature. For example: *Christian* precepts concerning environment; heredity; health; cleanliness; temperance; self-control; athletics; public hygiene; tenement-houses; prophylactics; the five senses; treatment of animals, etc.

In sum, the range of topics for this Lectureship in Christian Ethics should include whatever tends to society-building, or perfectation of personal character in Christ. Surely here is material enough, and this without any need of duplication, for centuries to come.

III. Spirit of the Lectureship.

Thirdly, the Spirit of this Lectureship. Every lecture must be presented from the standpoint of Jesus Christ. It must be distinctly understood, and the founder of the Lectureship cannot em-

phasize the point too strongly, that every lecture in these successive courses must be unambiguously Christian; that is, from the viewpoint of the divine Son of Mary. This Lectureship must be something more than a lectureship in moral philosophy, or in church theology; it must be a lectureship in Christian morality, or practical ethics from the standpoint of Christ's own personal character, example, and teachings.

IV. Qualification of the Lecturer.

Fourthly, the Qualification of the Lecturer. The founder hopes that the lecturer may often be, perhaps generally, a layman; for instance: a merchant, a banker, a lawyer, a statesman, a physician, a scientist, a professor, an artist, a craftsman; for Christian ethics is a matter of daily practical life rather than of metaphysical theology. The founder cares not what the ecclesiastical connection of the lecturer may be; whether a Baptist or an Episcopalian, a Quaker or a Latinist; for Christian ethics as Christ's behavior is not a matter of ecclesiastical ordination or of sect. The only pivotal condition of the Lectureship in this

particular is this: The lecturer himself must be unconditionally loyal to our only King, our Lord Jesus Christ; for Jesus Christ himself is the world's true, everlasting Ethics.

WORLD PEACE AND THE COLLEGE MAN

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THE picked half million." In this phrase William T. Stead used to speak to the college men of Great Britain, "It is theirs to command while the world must obey." They are the men who must think for themselves, and the man who can think should be the man who can act. To this potent group the men before me belong. You are among the chosen million of America, and to you I wish to say a word as to the world catastrophe in which you with the rest of the civilized world are now involved.

It is your right and your duty to see things as they really are, with the eye of a scholar rather than of the partisan. It is your privilege and your duty to help others to see them so. The scholar should know the things that abide in human affairs and to distinguish them from those that are temporary and illusory.

To think clearly is to act rightly, and to train men for action as well as thought is the duty of the University, and in these days we need above all the Higher Patriotism, the willingness to think and act for the right rather than dull willingness of the millions who stupidly would only die for it, without knowing whether right or wrong has claimed their sacrifice!

The scholar, too, is the sensitive barometer which first feels the lowered pressure of neglected duty, the first warning of the coming storm. The warning he gives his neighbors may not be received with favor; but that is not his concern; he is not asking for favors. His business is the truth and the application of the truth to the affairs of our race.

To you men of the University of Pennsylvania, scholars already made, and scholars in the making, I appeal to you to do your part in thought and action in this, the greatest crisis of the civilized world. What is your relation to the problems of war and peace? Where do you stand when the work of restoration comes, when you shall be called upon as experts in the healing of the

wounds of a continent? What shall you do to keep our nation firm on the basis of law and right?

Never in the history of the world was the need of wise leadership greater than now, never were the stakes so great, never was blind action more futile. Effort misdirected may do harm at times, but very little good. "Small efforts," said John Stuart Mill, "do not produce great effects; they produce no effects at all." Hence the need for strong effort, for clear-headed, uncompromising wisdom, and the possession of such wisdom is the birthright of the educated man.

There are many words in common service which are worn to the bone by careless use. Matthew Arnold once suggested that some of these, in which all clearness of meaning has been lost, be thrown into "the limbo of spoiled phraseology," giving to language a fresh start.

Among these words of doubtful sense is patriotism. Patriotism may represent the culmination of a noble life, quite as easily as in Samuel Johnson's definition; "The last refuge of a

scoundrel." Patriotism represents devotion to the principle of nationalism. Like nationalism it has two faces. It may be directed inward to the benefit of its own people or outward to the harm of its neighbors. As the development of national feeling, of pride in national achievement, in devotion to national justice, in the abatement of carelessness, vice and crime, the spirit of nationalism is in every way to be commended. It exemplifies the duty that lies nearest. In general, our power to act grows less as the square of the distance increases. Hence, in most cases, helpfulness begins at home. And a national spirit which goes to make the nation better worth living in is a worthy spirit. And its right name is patriotism, devotion to the fatherland. And its test is found in its attitude towards other fatherlands, and other people, and the higher patriotism, whose end is righteousness, is also the broader patriotism whose end is human welfare.

We are now in the city of Philadelphia. No doubt those of you who were born here love this old city, the cradle of American freedom. You

have that high degree of civic patriotism which enables you to recognize your city's collective faults and to be ready to do all in your power to correct them. But your love for Philadelphia does not detach you from the great State of Pennsylvania, of which this city is a large and forceful part. Your patriotism is wide enough to include the State. Nor does it involve any hatred or contempt for the smaller State of New Jersey which blocks your way to the sea, nor envy or malice towards the greater State of New York, always leading in wealth, population and political prestige. Nor is your patriotism limited to the State of Pennsylvania; it includes her forty-seven sisters, most of them lower in wealth and smaller in population, but still one with her in sharing the spirit of the great republic. And can we go no farther than this? Historically, American freedom is the child of British freedom. American culture is a product of the culture of the world. American civilization is world civilization, and our American race is but an overflow meeting in an open field of all the races of the world.

Shall not our patriotism flow out to them all? Does our love of Pennsylvania make us love Philadelphia the less? Does our faith in this great republic chill our work for the welfare of our city or State? May not the "planetary patriotism," the final goal of all patriotism, react to strengthen our devotion all along the line of local duties?

In every lexicon patriotism is defined as "love of country." What is one's country: his state, his province, his nation, the empire to which his province is willingly or unwillingly attached? Who is the patriot in Poland, in Finland, in Armenia, in Alsace-Lorraine? One of the saddest episodes in human history—the war between the States in America—arose from the clashing of two kinds of patriotism, the love of the State with the love of the nation.

It was said, you remember, of John Randolph, of Roanoke:

> "Too honest or too proud to feign
> A love he never cherished,
> Beyond Virginia's border-line;
> His patriotism perished."

And must a patriotism devote itself to the

supposed interests of the State when the State itself is in the wrong? To oppose one's own nation has been in history the highest form of patriotism. Whenever a nation plunges into a great crime, as into a war of aggression, its course is marked by the heroes and martyrs it has overridden in its downward career. Shall we give the name of patriot to those who give their blood to their "country right or wrong," or to those who have given their lives to set their country right?

Were they patriots who stood out against the Government of the United States when its energies seemed bent on the perpetuation of human slavery? "I will quietly, after my fashion, declare war against the State," said Thoreau. "Under a government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is in prison. I know this well, that if one thousand, if one hundred, if one honest man in this State of Massachusetts ceasing to remain in this co-partnership, should be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America."

Says Robert Louis Stevenson: "If his example

had been followed by a hundred or by thirty of his followers, it would have greatly precipitated the era of freedom and justice. We feel the misdeeds of our country with so little fervor for we are not witnesses to the sufferings they cause. But when we see them awaken an active horror in our fellowmen, when we see a neighbor prefer to lie in prison than be so much as passively implicated in their perpetration, even the dullest of us will begin to realize them with a quicker pulse."

I shall not tell you the story of John Brown, hung for treason in Virginia half a century and more ago. Guilty, no doubt, caught in the very act, the act of giving his life for his country that his country might in the future, as it had not been in the past, be a nation of free men.

In our day there are not many who would refuse to John Brown the name of patriot. Even "those who blamed the bloody hand forgave the loving heart." For the truest patriot is the man with the wider vision, the man who looks not to the immediate, but to the final, and who is

not afraid if need be to stand alone in a mob swayed by the motives of the hour.

It is given to the educated man to view his country as extended both in time and in space. It is the long future toward which he looks, the wide expansion which he contemplates. The town, the county, the province, should not limit his patriotism. The town has no welfare, no prosperity, no justice that does not involve the welfare of its sister towns, so no nation can prosper through the ruin of sister nations. The states of the civilized world form an economic unit. Each gains through the welfare of others. Each suffers through whatever interferes with another's prosperity. The intrusion of war anywhere injures all, and to a certain extent it injures all alike. The civilized world is a culture unit, drawing its resources of science, art and philosophy from the same springs. It is to a great extent a moral unit, for only a few men in a nation claim the right of ignoring moral laws. It is clear that patriotism to be genuine must not crumple up on the border of nations to turn into international hate. For we are all, men and

nations, in the same boat, "the good old ship Earth," a very small ship when we travel it from stem to stern, a very large ship when we consider all the varied peoples which have found their way into it.

Our little compartments are all too small to bound our interests or our purpose. We must take account of our neighbors, and in a friendly way, if we do not wish to injure ourselves through being justly hated. We must extend our definition of patriotism to include all real interests of our country, and the first of these comes international confidence and mutual understanding. How to bring this about is one of the problems of the educated man, and to the degree in which he solves it, is he entitled to the new name of patriot. The duty of the educated man, a Swedish friend, August Schvan, insists is to bring about "planetary patriotism," a sense of the welfare of the whole world, instead of promoting the petty provincial rivalries of one nation against another. World-citizenship against nationalism is the antithesis, and in our everyday

life, we see on all sides, the two standing in contrast.

No finer example of the higher patriotism has ever been given in the modern world than that of Hugo Grotius, the patriot of Holland, the father of International Law. In his time the whole of Europe was red with blood of men slain wantonly. Feudalism was dying and in a welter of blood. Feudal lords fought against feudal lords, and men of one faith against those of another. Soldiers of fortune peddled for gold the service of their marauding bands to one prince or to one religion, and then to another. No one was armed with the awful weapons of today, but hate raged everywhere, and was cherished as a patriotic duty to an extent which we of gentler rearing can scarcely conceive. The worst manifestations of today come in direct line from the hatreds and cruelties of the seventeenth century and from which no part of the continent of Europe was then free.

"Of all tyrannies of unreason in the modern world," says Andrew D. White, "one holds a supremely evil prominence. It covered the

period from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the seventeenth, and throughout those hundred years was waged a war of hatreds, racial, religious, national and personal, of ambitions ecclesiastical and civil, of aspirations, patriotic and selfish, of efforts noble and vile. During all those weary generations, Europe became one broad battlefield, drenched in human blood and lighted from innumerable scaffolds."

Hugo Grotius spoke for the inalienable rights of man, the right to be, to think, to live, to travel, to trade, to use the land and sea, rights which no authority should take away. In his day he fought against the same old prejudices, the human nature that can never change, the crimes that have always been and so must ever be, the same "unreason, bigotry, party passion individual ambition, all masquerading as saving faith."

In prison, in poverty, in banishment, the seer of Holland, to whom more than to anyone else we owe such international justice as is granted to us, may be granted to us when today's conflict is over, wrote against war, against intolerance,

against the double standards of morality for men and nations, the idea that wrong among ourselves is right when applied to the foreigner—examples of frightfulness.

"More wonderful than the book was the faith of the author. He saw in all this darkness one court sitting supreme to which he might appeal, and that court the heart and mind of universal humanity. 'I saw,' said Grotius, 'in the whole Christian world a license of fighting at which even barbaric nations might blush. Wars were begun on trifling pretexts or none at all and carried on without any reverence for law, Divine or human. A declaration of war seemed to let loose every crime.' War to extermination became the only means of obtaining peace." And yet Grotius kept to his work and knew no discouragement. His was the higher patriotism which would save his own country and in so doing would save the world. In all these twenty centuries not many have come nearer to the mission of Jesus of Nazareth, the message of freedom of individual religion and of loyalty to the highest good of man. "The earth is upheld by the

influence of good men; they keep the world wholesome." Such are the picked half million of your race, the fraternity to which as educated men it is your choicest privilege to belong.

The evil side of nationalism appears with the dark side of patriotism. "Our country, right or wrong." If we stop there we shall fail in the greater interest of keeping our country right. "For the Fatherland when the Fatherland is in the right," said Carl Schurz in 1848; "when it is in the wrong, then every effort to bring it to the right."

If the nation sets itself athwart the interests or the sympathies of sister nations, it produces a world disturbance, all whose manifestations are evil. Its patriotism becomes poisoned and perverted into international fear and international hate. "Live and let live," is a homely motto, but it represents the terms of wholesome national existence. Because nations have become centers of hate, through blunders and crimes of government and through poisoning of the springs of patriotism, the whole system of nations is now on trial.

Feudalism failed because tribal loyalty did not bring justice, because patriotism controlled with greed made Europe one vast field of unreason, anarchy and blood. Because of this failure, Feudalism gave place to Nationalism. A nation is a region which has peace within itself.

And because the perversion of nationalism has again bankrupted the world and filled it with sorrow and despair, men look forward to the next higher stage, that of federation, and of the broader patriotism which considers principles and world-welfare rather than the selfish aims born of struggles of local geography.

It is said that the success of the United States as a nation has redeemed the principle of nationalism. Its long boundaries are borders of friendship and mutual trust, not of hatred and suspicion.

But the Republic of America is a federation, as well as a nation. Its ~~forty~~ 56-eight small nationalities cannot arm against one another, and with free trade and interchangeable citizenship they melt into one, while at the same time retaining all advantages of local home rule. Whatever the shortcomings of our nation, and so long as

human nature has its imperfections every nation must show them, and in every function, we may affirm that we have settled in the only final way the greatest evils of the day, the perversion of nationalism and patriotism into egotism, jealousy, suspicion and hate. Just as nationalism stilled the abuses of feudalism, so must federation, finally heal the ills of distorted nationalism.

Every sign of the times points to the relaxation of nationalism, and to the rise of its successor, the spirit of federation. The Imperialism of Rome, the Holy Roman Empire, with one head temporal and one spiritual, the whole civilized world dissolved in the anarchy of feudalism. The leagues of cities and princes, the struggles amongst kings and dukes and barons, the sordid game of tribute and ransom, caused feudalism to fall in indiscriminate anarchy and blood.

By the gradual union of discordant elements, feudalism gave place to nationalism. Nationalism is a partial federation, the union of concurrent elements. A nation's existence depends on its suppression of civil war. Its persistence depends on its suppression of war with other

nations. The conception of nations as rival powers constantly engaged in strife with their neighbors, the Hyena theory, as Pierre Loti terms it, which has prevailed more or less definitely since the time of Napoleon, must before many years come to its end. Free trade and interchangeable citizenship will mark its complete disappearance. All human interests are becoming international. Commerce, insurance, banking, manufacture, agriculture, law, medicine, science, literature, philosophy, all these are international and each suffers in its degree by any form of international strife. The desecration of law and human right in one part of it likewise degrades humanity in some degree in all parts. These great common interests cannot longer tolerate the Hyena theory and its worse than hyena practice. The centers of civilization must form themselves anew in some form of federation. The powers of the world must give place to jurisdictions. The forty-eight sovereign States of our republic, each with its degree of home rule, cooperating in essentials, absolutely free in minor matters, must serve as a model from which the

world federation must be developed. The power to make war is abandoned by each. This is the most vital feature. For the rest, free trade with one another and interchangeable citizenship accomplish the rest. And these would do as much for Europe when the opportunity arises. Not that we expect to see a formal United States of Europe in our generation. The fact of union may precede its legal acceptance. Union of spirit, democratic control, is the first element to be secured, and that will go a long way. And the hope of securing it should command the best efforts of the university men of the world, the "picked half million" of each progressive race. Mr. Asquith has well expressed this idea. The day must come when, instead of force, "for the chaos of competition, for groupings and alliances, and a precarious counterpiece, there should be substituted a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal right and established and enforced by a common will."

Federation means peace, as peace means federation. As a nation must be at peace within itself, so must the whole of civilization. As was

once said, our American Union could not endure half slave, half free, so civilization cannot endure, at peace and at war. Peace is a word with many meanings, as many as patriotism, and it may be for the same reason that the word should be cast along with patriotism into the limbo of spoiled phraseology. As Dr. Alfred H. Fried has pointed out, three different ideas of peace stand in the public mind. One is negative peace, the absence of fighting, which has no value in itself, except as it gives room for the positive work of life. And nothing positive can be done while fighting is on. History is a blank so far as constructive advance of humanity is concerned from the declaration of war to the treaty of settlement, and in most cases still for long after. If history were written truly, each page of war would be cast in black, with fine white letters describing the scant deeds of heroism and magnanimity in war, and the more heroic deeds of those who strove for humanity in spite of war's hideous crimes and burdens. Not for half a century after any great war can the pages of history be made white again, for, as Kant observes, "War

creates more rascals than it kills." Beyond the exaltation of self-surrender, loss and suffering, rise the sordid exhalations from the riches of war purveyors. The war trader, as Burke observes, scents from afar "the cadaverous odor of lucre."

The peace of contentment should be the birthright of the normal man. It is far away from world politics, from the clash of class or nation. It is the peace of a landscape, a prairie home, a warm fireside, a meadow brook, a hillside carpeted with flowers. It is a peace devoutly to be desired, attainable for men if not for nations.

Very different is the armed peace, the peace of fear, suspicion and hate, the peace of the balance of power, the peace which comes when nations stand as powers devoted to mutual injury and not as organizations of people for mutual benefit. This kind of peace has found in war its "verification", its reason for existence.

The peace of international honesty is not like this. It is the peace of effort, for many wills and many interests are involved in it. It is not the peace of rest, nor that of hate; it is the

peace of constructive effort, the development of the duty which casts out fear; it is the peace which framed the steam engine, which bridged the seas, which tamed the lightning, cut the barriers of commerce, curbed the rivers and fed the deserts. It is the peace of helpfulness which has exterminated infectious disease, is feeding millions of distressed men and women in the regions desolated by the madness of Europe. This is the peace for which the world suffers, the peace of leave to work, the peace of self-realization, the peace of democracy, of science and religion.

In the summer of 1913 a notable journalist, writing in the Étoile Belge of Brussels, declared that "Europe is hungry for Peace" ("avide de la paix"). And this was the truth. Europe was tired of world politics, of a type more degraded than ward politics; tired of lies and hate, of arrogance and defiance, of selfishness and greed. It wanted peace—peace at any price, perhaps, but knew no way to secure it. And if it be peace for which the world is hungry, constructive peace for which it stands in need, the

peace that shall last, for all other is mere mockery. We must count on each of you to do his part toward it. We cannot spare even one of you. The picked half million in many nations are dying in the trenches today. The future of Europe lies in the hands of the sons of men this war could not use. It is a future of emasculation, and on you of America, when the old men pass away, the burden of world direction will be all the more heavy. In the words of a noted American bishop, "War does not mean the survival of the fittest; it is the survival of those who never fit," and as "like the seed is the harvest," the picked half millions of Europe will be shrunken in numbers for a century. The longest curse of war is its destruction of those strains of manhood best fitted for leadership.

It is for you to take the places these men should have filled, to stand in the ranks of constructive workers for civilization, and the time to work is always now. Today is the critical time, and for long ages it will still be today. In time of war, one should strike for peace. The time of abasement is the day for spiritual uplift. The

world at large may not think so. Even your best advisers may recoil when the current sets against them.

In a recent number of an "Advocate of Peace" an eminent jurist urges it as the present duty of the American Peace Society to "withdraw within itself," to keep silence until the storm is over and the world is willing to listen to our message.

This is indeed strange advice. If such societies have any duty to the world, it is just now, in the very heart of the crisis. They cannot fight war on platitudes in times of peace, while they shrivel in time of war. The crime of crimes must be brought to an end somehow and somebody must do the work. Armies and navies do not stop war; they are formed to continue it. Fire will not put out fire. The call for humanity should be as fearless as the call for blood. If peace societies are timid—all societies rest on compromise—pacifists are not. They serve a cause which can know no defeat. Every great wrong must perish even in its hour of triumph. It must perish when it is seen bald and bare for what it is. And we, who see it nakedly

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today, must appeal as did our forerunner, Hugo Grotius, to the great court which sits in silence above all human crimes and follies, "the heart and conscience of universal humanity," and before this court may you never be silent nor dismayed. Shall you then stand for "peace at any price?" Why not? Don't be afraid of phrases. An epithet hurts nobody and epithets are arguments mostly used by those who have no other.

Let us face the issue squarely; for when the question really comes up there is no peace to be had at any price. If peace can be had, real peace, at any price, it is folly and crime to talk of war. In the Great War no peace was offered at any price to Servia, to Belgium, to France. Some sort of peace was offered at a price to Austria, Russia, Germany and Great Britain. Should these nations have taken it at the price? This question each must answer for himself. And, paying the price, would they have had peace, real peace, well worth the cost?

What could not Europe have afforded to pay to prevent the great catastrophe? What has

war cost Europe and when will it be able to repay? If peace, real peace, without rebate, can be had at any price, it offers the most glorious of bargains.

And for us, we would see the price lists first. With Lincoln, we would count the cost. If we do not, it may stagger us. And will we get peace when we pay for it? Not the armed peace of fear and hate, for that is war scarcely half disguised, but the peace of mutual trust and international confidence. Sooner or later that must come, for as sure as the day follows night, the principle of federation must succeed unbalanced nationalism in the development of the civilized world.

The war will not reach its end before you will enter on your mission. It will not be over in your day or mine. The struggle in Europe for the century to come, with that of the century that is past, will be the struggle for human liberty. The Great War is a backfire of privilege, an effort to hold humanity back by setting men against each other. The effort to maintain inherited privilege against the onrush of democracy, the effort to hold men as masses instead of units,

will go on until civilization ceases to be the impossible, to exist half slave, half free. The weapon for freedom is the ballot box; its security is education; its heart is the free school. The war system strives to smash the ballot box, to close the free school, to turn it into a barrack or a morgue.

I have just said that every great wrong dies in the moment of its highest triumph. It dies when men see it nakedly for what it is. In such vision war must die and with it all its sustaining influences. In such fashion other great wrongs have died—cannibalism, human sacrifices, slavery, inquisition, witchcraft, and the rest. The light and the sober mind is fatal to the creatures of darkness, and of these, the most wanton, the most abominable, the most preposterous, the one with "the primal eldest curse upon it," is the old demon war.

In building for the future we do not have to build in the air. In spite of the storm of mail-clad medievalism which sweeps over Europe, we still live in the twentieth century. We have the beginnings of an international organism, and

on these beginnings we must build a heavier structure, one made of realities and not from "air clouds of our own imagination."

That this is hopeless and impossible men will tell you every day. War is inevitable, because it is ingrained in human nature. Men will never cease to desire it and no law, treaties or tribunals can stand in their red-blooded path.

It is for you to stand and deny all this as upholders of law and justice. It is for you to realize the fallacy that law and justice are historically possible. People do not realize that the present time is not the end of human history. It is barely the beginning. We stand today with Homer and Moses in the primitive days of senseless strife and bloodshed. In the words of L. S. Woolf: "It is almost impossible not to believe that each today is the end of the world. Our own short era seems invariably to be in the history of the world a culmination either of progress or dissolution. But in history there are really no culminations and no cataclysms; there is only a feeble dribble of progress, sagging first to one side and then to the other, but always

dribbling a little in one direction. Thus the French revolution was for every one in it the end or the beginning of the world. The aristocrat, dragged through the streets of Paris to the guillotine, saw himself perishing in a holocaust of all Law, Order, Beauty, and Good Manners; the men who dragged him saw only the sudden birth of Justice and absolute Liberty. Both were wrong, just as both would have been wrong if they had suddenly found themselves transported some thirty years on onto the Paris of the second decade of the nineteenth century, for the aristocrat would have seen the culmination of his hopes and the Red of his despair. In each case it was only a little sag in the progress of history, first to this side and then to that, though the main stream was dribbling slowly in the direction of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. So with this war. Its tremendous importance to us produces in us a delusion that in the history of the world it is tremendously important. But it is neither the beginning nor the end of anything; it is just a little sagging to one side, to violence and stupidity and barbarism, and in ten or fifteen or twenty

years' time there will be a sagging to the other side, to what we dimly recognize as progress and civilization."

"Another fallacy," says Mr. Woolf, "is of the same nature as that dreary assertion that you cannot make men good by act of Parliament. In one sense the assertion is a truism, and in another it is simply false. It is true that human society is so simple that if a majority of men want to fight, no international law, no treaties or tribunals will prevent them; on the other hand, society is so complex that though the majority of men and women do not want to fight, if there are no laws or rules of conduct, and no pacific methods of settling disputes, they will find themselves at one another's throats before they are aware of or desire it."

"I do not believe for an instant that war has falsified our vision of peace," writes Arthur Christopher Benson, in "Escape and Other Essays." "We must cling to it more than ever, we must emphasize it, we must dwell in it. I regard war as I regard an outbreak of pestilence; the best way to resist it is not to brood over it,

but to practice joy and health. The plagues which devastated Europe have not been overcome by philosophy, but by the upspringing desire of men to live cleaner and more wholesome lives. To brood over the war, to spend our time in disentangling its intricate causes, seems to be a task of future historians. But a lover of peace, confronted by the hideousness of war, does best to try, if he can, to make plain what he means by peace and why he desires it. I do not mean by peace an indolent life, lost in gentle reveries. I mean hard daily work, and mutual understanding, and lavish help, and the effort to reassure and console and uplift. And I mean, too, a real conflict—not a conflict where we set the best and bravest of each nation to spill each other's blood—but a conflict against crime and disease and selfishness, and greediness and cruelties. There is much fighting to be done. Can we not combine to fight our common foes, instead of weakening each other against evil?"

There are three duties before the world today: These are, to keep America's law-abiding, out of the "Brawl in the Dark" in which Europe is

bleeding to death; to stop the killing, somehow, when we can, for swords will not destroy swords, nor militarism suppress militarism, and finally to adjust international relations and to strengthen the human conscience so that such a world crime may never occur again. In this work, let us hope that each of you may find his part in its completeness. It will test the mettle of the world's manhood for the next fifty years, and it will give in full measure the long-sought "Moral Equivalent of War."

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